2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

Dances.—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

Beverages.—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk by incipient medicine men.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and rival functionaries.

(1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baare (plural of bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, maeréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupulously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, announcing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

/459 cont./

000 Indians, who are standing about in tight bunches, hold their ears and remember the time when shots went off in their forest. Moguyokuri and his son, who even exceeds him in body height, come forward in order to send a few arrows as well into the crumbling remains of Judas Iscariot. Cautiously they first put it out so that the arrows will not burn up. The soldiers are dismissed; powder is now exploded everywhere, and even our comrades cannot resist the temptation; from the cook-yard where the pig is being slaughtered there is murderous screaming, joy predominates everywhere: Hallelujah!

765 Kayapó! The burial ceremony for Coqueiro's widow /sic/, which I shall describe in detail, fell on Easter Monday (1 April); we guests never stopped marveling at the strange contrasts which were set before our eyes every day in the restless life of the colony. Scarcely had the lamentation died away and the burial
721 basket been removed, when there was new excitement. The Bororó maintained they had seen two Kayapó, whom they called Kayámo, in the forest. Their mortal enemy in close proximity
722 to the colony! Leave the colony that very evening -- it seemed almost unbelievable -- was the general solution of the Indians. The soldiers had to be called up; a patrol was sent out and was to discharge a dozen shots in the suspected corner in the forest. Thus they calmed themselves temporarily, but as a precaution the great chief Moguyokuri, the terror of the Mato Grosso, did not sleep with his two wives and his children that night, but at Eliseo's.

726 During the night of 2 to 3 April, too, everyone was awake. Our Indian friends took us to the ranchão and invited us to take part in a meeting, the purpose of which was to fortify themselves with music in the hope of victory over the evil Kayapó. At first
[535] we all stood and danced /460/ on one spot, while an old chief in the center sang and ponderously shook the rattle-gourd. The rest of us held our hands in front of our mouths and bellowed a hollow u, u... into them and flexed our knees in rhythm. Since we noticed how greatly this comforted the Bororó, we did not hold back in our enthusiastic participation. Our band was working in the dark; only occasionally did someone throw a little straw into

/460 cont./

726 the fire and the grave faces were sharply illuminated for a moment. The dancing lasted half an hour. Then we sat down around the old rattler, who was trembling violently from the exertion and was swallowing great draughts of water; we had to hold the pot to his mouth, for otherwise it would not have reached its goal. Now, however, we were all filled with fresh courage; the venerable old man, in a half singing tone, expatiated further on the subject of the agenda and our great chorus replied either an enraptured "uakína," "very good," or with coarse laughter, "hahahá," or with a determined threat, "uh...."

At noon on 3 April the patriotic enthusiasm against the unseen foe reached its climax. We were sitting and eating when suddenly ten or twelve Bororó came storming up in weird attire. In the [411] lead Moguyokuri, drunk, his face flushed, in my Turkish woman's jacket, armed, or rather loaded, with bow, arrows, a maize pestle, and a heavy ax blade without a handle, behind him José Domingo, face and body blackened with soot, swinging a beautiful bow decorated with ostrich feathers, a black hair-string around his right wrist for protection against the snapping bowstring, on a strap around his naked stomach a cavalry saber, and similarly fitted out for war the rest of the heroes -- last not least /given in English/ the idiot Dyapokuri. This unfortunate fool had also smeared himself all over with soot, around his pathological skull he had wound a black hair string, like a Chinese his pigtail, on his back hung a long kitchen knife, and with his right hand he twirled a club in the air; like one possessed, uttering inarticulate sounds, he leaped about to the laughter of the company at the table. The terrible warriors were setting out to seek the traces of the Kayapó. They soon returned, they had found nothing suspicious, the foolish people seemed to have come to their senses, and the episode was ended.

302 In the men's house in the morning there had been great activity; during the afternoon and into the evening a dozen Bororó were busy coloring the hair, face, and body of their lovers a festive bright red, and outside, after darkness descended, an entirely different 000 kind of scene was enacted. A child of about two which had been

763 /460 cont./ A child of about Two which had been struggling with death for about 24 hours and whose end the baris had predicted for today was brought out in front of the hut. The mother was holding it in her lap; the medicine men and relatives sat around and lamented. Behind the mother squatted the father; for a while he remained motionless, then -- one of the onlookers was just lighting his pipe -- /461/ he drew a cord around the neck of the poor little mite and quickly brought to fulfillment the prophecy of the doctors. Immediately everyone except the [535] mother got up; the medicine men fetched their feather ornaments [764] and rattles and, with a booming "aroé..., aroé..." song, commenced the mourning dance.

●726 The festivity in the ranchão and the mourning ceremonies outside suddenly suffered a mighty disturbance, however, when two shots were heard from the forest. Somebody there was again shooting at the Kayapó! One man who was sleeping off his intoxication had caught sight of them and heard them shouting! Having waked up, he sounded the alarm and a mad hubbub was [411] the result. Eliseo had the soldiers report; in no time the plaza was filled with men, all of whom carried bows and arrows, clubs, and axes, with women who had packed up all their belongings in carrying baskets and were dragging their children or pushing them on ahead, with half-grown boys, most of whom were also armed. [764] Only the woman with the little dead creature in her lap remained [535] in her place, and a few dancers with the great radial wheel of red arara feathers around their heads stamped, sang, rattled on steadfastly, or, after they had mingled for a moment in the bustle, returned to their duty.

The crowd was milling about wildly and pressing around the main building. The soldiers stood there in a long row; the cadets and officials could scarcely defend themselves against the onslaught, and no one could hear his own words. It was a dark night as well. The agitated ones demanded an immediate crossing to the other river bank before the Kayapó arrived; the entire company was ready to march. Fortunately, the people did not dare separate themselves from the soldiers. There was such a surging and seething that one did not know whether he still had possession of his five senses. Gradually the surging

/461 cont./

726 became somewhat weaker. The solemn aroé... of the dancers sounded louder, the young men and red-painted girls again sought their resting places in the dimly lit ranchão, the tumult on the plaza became concentrated in smaller groups; here and there one saw glowing logs in the darkness, and when a fire blazed up one saw the bristling bows and arrows, the carrying baskets, the feathers of the singers, and, squatting or lying, persons of every age and both sexes, on whose powerful bodies the distribution of light and shadow for the moment that they were illuminated brought out extremely picturesque effects.

722 In the main building all the rooms were filled; with Eliseo, Caldas, and the administrator, everywhere there were women and children with bag and baggage, around the table and on the table, in the farthest corner, old and young, like, apart from their nakedness, a swarm of emigrants in a crowded railway station. Some of the younger and prettier women stood out because of the white pillows in their possession. The Brazilians mocked and comforted, "kayámo bakímo," "the Kayapó are no good"; the Indians boasted that they were not afraid, took aim with their /462/ bows, and crouched like scouts stealing up on the enemy. Between times they begged for tobacco and alcohol.

Once again there was a great hubbub: a Bororó was supposed to have been killed by the Kayapó near the last houses! A man with a bleeding forehead was brought in; his wife, moaning, threw herself upon him and examined the wound. We did the same. A few drops, a slight bruise; the injured one maintained that he had been hit with a pointed ox bone while he was reconnoitering. Whether a flippant friend had permitted himself a bad joke, whether the blow was meant for a Kayapó, remained one of the mysteries of that night of terror. /Fig. 128 appears here./

Toward eleven o'clock we felt it was time to retire. There was nothing new in prospect. The cadets were playing cards, the chiefs were very intoxicated. Outside it had grown rather quiet. The soldiers had made themselves comfortable, their wives were lying near by on skins. The dirge was continuing; it was dark in the ranchão.

241 people went hunting and fishing. Only men did the field work, clearing the field together, but each family head planted his part of the field. If the crops did not grow well the ghosts were asked to cure the field.

252 Bitter manioc was prepared for food in two ways. First, unpeeled tubers were left to soak in water for 2 days, then squeezed in a strip of bast or a piece of cotton cloth. After the skins and fibers were picked out the pulp was rolled into balls and dried. The dry balls were later ground in a mortar, and the meal was sifted in a circular buriti fiber sieve and stored in baskets. When a woman wished to bake she placed some of the meal in a shallow pot, dampened it with water, and placed it on the fire to produce *jukupóto*, "beiju." By the second method they produced chicha (*sumina*). The tubers were peeled and grated, and the pulp, mixed with water, was boiled for several hours until it formed a thick paste. This preparation was eaten when cooled. Sweetpotatoes and maize were roasted; and fish and meat were broiled over a babracot.

HUNTING AND FISHING

411 The siriva palm wood bow (*boáko*) is used in
●[726] fishing and hunting, and formerly it was used in war. Umotina bows ranged from 5 to 7 feet in length, 2 inches in width, and an inch in thickness in the middle. In cross section the bow is oval, often somewhat more flat on the inner side. Siriva wood is black with white streaks, but with age and polishing the bow turns jet black. Slight
[283] shoulders are notched at each end to hold the bowstring (*boáko*) made from tucum fiber, the extra length being wound above the handhold. The 5-foot arrow (*ináo*) is made by fixing a notched
411 canela or siriva foreshaft to a taquara shaft.
224 This point is used for fish and small game. Bamboo points are used for big game such as tapir, jaguar, and peccary. All arrows excepting those used in fishing are feathered with urubú or mutúm feathers. A feather about 8 inches long is split and the halves are fastened to the arrow with twine lashings about one-eighth inch apart, which are then covered with pitch.

226 Fish were shot from the banks and, in shallow
[824] pools, were drugged with timbó. Women used a cast net fastened to an oval hoop (*bákye*) for catching small fish after they were drugged.

[p. 107 (4)]